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LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSMONTHLY

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BROADSHEET EDITION

NAZIS!!! We Hate Those Guys!

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

THE NAZI LOST. AFTER A FEW months of attention focused on the race for Governor of Louisiana, with the full weight of the capitalist press and Louisiana business leaders against him, David Duke lost the election with 39% of the vote to Democrat Edwin Edwards' 61%. For a Nazi, that kind of defeat is a victory. Enough of a victory to run for the Republican Presidential nomination. The Duke campaign has announced the emergence of an authentic fascist movement in the US.

FASCISM AMERICAN STYLE

Beginning with his successful 1989 run for a seat in the Louisiana legislature, David Duke has used his electoral campaigns to attract media attention and to build a fascist movement. David Duke is not a "former Nazi" as he has been widely described. He is a Nazi. The only thing that has changed about David Duke is the slickness of his racist rhetoric. When Duke says he is not a Nazi anymore he is simply lying. In the most recent issue of *Dialogue*, New Orleans' Progressive Community Journal, Lance Hill of the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism meticulously documents Duke's continued adherence to Nazi racial doctrines.

People may breathe a sigh of relief that Duke is not going to be Governor of Louisiana, but his campaign attracted thousands of new people to his organization, the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). For example, in Dubuque, Iowa, a city with a tiny non-white population, there has been a series of cross burnings most likely by the local branch of the NAAWP. Duke has become a national political figure, and in this regard he is stronger than ever. Duke's campaign for the Presidency will help him turn that recognition into organized political clout. And Duke is not alone. His electoral efforts are just one part of a much larger fascist movement in the US.

THE MANY FACES OF FASCISM

For the past ten years a network of fascist organizations has been establishing itself. Various Klan, Nazi, Christian Identity and other fascist groupings have been steadily broadening their base of support, experimenting with tactics, putting in place organizational structures and carrying out attacks against people of color, Jews, queers, and anti-racist organizers. This broad fascist movement is made up of a number of distinct tendencies and it would be mistaken to view it as fully unified, but the past ten years has seen a remarkable meeting of the minds among the long squabbling sects of the racist right.

The emergent fascist movement has taken many forms. For example, the dramatic rise in racist skinhead activity in the late 1980s represented another tendency that is, for the moment, more militant in its tactics than David Duke. Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR), until it was decimated by a lawsuit linking it to a racist murder in Portland, Oregon, made great strides in es-

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PORN IN FLAMES

We are running this article because we think that it clearly presents one side of the arguments around pornography. We encourage people to write articles expressing other viewpoints.

BY RICHARD BLAKE

THE *LOVE AND RAGE* ORGANIZING CONFERence brought together 125 of the most creative, spontaneous and serious revolutionaries in North America. Everybody I met at the conference would agree that anarchism won't happen so long as men continue to dominate wimmin and children, and that smashing the patriarchy is just as important as smashing authoritarian capitalism. Unlike liberal feminists, anarcha-feminists see the connection between sexism and other forms of hierarchy, and believe we can't get true equality between men and wimmin by placing more wimmin in corporate board rooms, or on the front lines fighting for the interests of the ruling class. Yet, on one issue profoundly affecting the oppression of wimmin, anarchists split ranks. That issue, not surprisingly, concerned pornography.

For the record, my position is that the pornography industry promotes male ownership and control of wimmin, celebrates men's sexual violence against wimmin, and defines wimmin's sexual slavery as everybody's sexual freedom.

A small group of us who volunteered to re-draft *Love and Rage's* statement on anti-sexism proposed that the following language be included: "We oppose the pornography industry, which is intrinsically connected to the cycle of violence against, and to the oppression of, wimmin and children." When word of the amendment got around, sharp controversy ensued, and the above-quoted language was eventually voted down.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER PORN

The controversy over the amendment reflects a controversy within the wimmin's movement and the radical community at large. What accounts for this controversy? It seems to me that those who opposed the anti-porn amendment, and those who have opposed the anti-porn movement in general, probably don't want to be reminded that pornography is a multi-billion dollar capitalist enterprise in the United States and Canada. They're probably also sick of hearing the voices of such people as Andrea Dworkin haranguing them about the depictions of wimmin being sent through meat grinders, mounted as hunting trophies, tied or chained to posts or beds, penetrated with sharp objects, fists or penises, or pictured as bruised, battered and bleeding. It seems to me that the following are some of the ideas which underlie reluctance or unwillingness to oppose the porn industry:

1. Pornography, in whatever form, is primarily the imaging of sexual fantasy. It is the stuff of make-believe, even if it stimulates or encourages real sexual practice.

2. Sex, whatever its form, has the potential to be liberating, so long as it is freely chosen by consenting adults.

3. The church, the state, and other authoritarian institutions oppose all sex except sex performed by married heterosexuals for the purpose of procreation. Therefore, the state generally opposes and would like to curtail or even shut down the porn industry.

4. Whether we know it or not, Andrea Dworkin, me, and others who oppose pornography (known to some pro-porn activists as "the sex police") are in collusion with Jerry Falwell, the Meese Commission, and other right-wing puritan fascists who want to stamp out people's sexual freedom. Therefore, however much we all regret the harm done to some wimmin by pornography, the best strategy is to do nothing to fight against the industry. After all, any effort to fight porn will only result in state censorship of experimental art, Lesbian and Gay erotica, and other "liberating" depictions of the sort of sex we anarchists support and the state opposes.

Let's look at these assumptions to see how true they are.

PORNOGRAPHY: SEXUAL IMAGE OR SEXUAL ACT?

How is pornography made? Who makes it and for whom is it made? Is it made by well-paid models pretending to be sexual, or (better yet) by bold sexual partners choosing to photograph their love-making for their own and others' erotic pleasure?

Not usually, I'm afraid. As Kathleen Berry and others have documented, the slave market in wimmin is thriving, and without it the porn industry could not continue to function. Shop-lift the latest issue of *Hustler*, or any one of its countless clones, and look at what you see. That emaciated, dazed teenage girl or womyn tied to the hood of the sports car probably lives on the streets. There's a good chance she's a prostitute and has run away from a violent family in which she experienced sexual and physical abuse. (See, for example, *The Proceedings of the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women*, compiled and edited by Diana A. H. Russell and Nicole Van de Ven; Palo Alto, California, Frog in the Well, 1984). And if you don't believe that, then at least notice that the ropes around her breasts and the bruises on her body are real. Remember, most of the pictures of people taken in pornography involve first doing to them whatever the picture is about. Then think about whether your or somebody else's sexual "fantasy" is horrifying reality for the womyn in the picture. Consider whether doing nothing about a womyn being tied and beaten is the best way to protect all wimmin's sexual "freedom" from the state, or whether the womyn in the picture is any less tied, any less beaten or any less raped just because somebody takes a picture of it happening to her.

Some anarchists and other progressives say the porn industry can't be opposed because it can't be identified. That is, you can't tell where the porn ends and the advertising and fashion industries begin. You can't draw a clear line between "bad" porn and "good" erotica, between pictures celebrating socially repressed sexual practice (such as Lesbian or Gay love-making) and *Playboy's* latest profile of the Playmate of the Month.

I agree we need to talk more about these matters than we have, and need to think more about such questions as whether the camera can ever play a liberating role in our sex lives. But this much is clear: every day of every year, countless pictures are being snapped of wimmin, children and (more rarely) men being raped, physically hurt and degraded. The size and profitability of this material is like an ocean compared to the trickle of "positive" sexually explicit material that some in our movement find liberating. And the fact that pornographic images permeate ads and fashion magazines merely testifies to the pornographic nature of the society we're supposed to be fighting to change.

I know of no other issue about which anarchists (and other progressives) are so unwilling to make intelligent distinctions. Most of us can tell the difference between a womyn being raped by a man and two womyn passionately kissing each other, but some claim we can't fight a multi-billion dollar industry promoting rape because we might get confused in the process and end up promoting a ban on all forms of erotica.

As to the advertising and fashion industries, I thought I understood that anarchists are fighting these already. If fighting porn means redoubling our efforts against Madison Avenue and Wall Street, so much the better.

SEX: HOW GOOD A TIME?

The second point — that sex in whatever form is an expression of human creativity and freedom — is a much harder point to dispute in anarchist circles than I think it would be if people thought more about their own sex lives. In my experience and observation, sexual relations aren't much more "liberating" than any other kind of social relations. Sometimes, they can be worse.

People (particularly men) use sex to express anger, intimidation, hatred and domination. Readers of *Love and Rage* need not be convinced that womyn (including anarchist womyn) are raped by men (including anarchist men) all the time. While rape may be about anger and about power, the fact is it's also about sex.

But, you say, rape is by definition "nonconsensual" sex, and anarchists ought to be pro-sex, so long as the sex is "consensual." The question then becomes: what is consent in a society as coercive as our own, and how does pornography affect the terms of that consent?

> The way to fight pornography is not by repressing it, but by exposing it, so that people who are privileged will have to see what it does, and who it hurts.

Except when it comes to sex, "consent" is a tricky issue for most anarchists. In Edward Herman's and Noam Chomsky's book, *Manufacturing Consent*, the authors show how constant media lies, together with the threat of brute force, create social conditions in which people can consent to all sorts of things that hurt and degrade them. For example, a lot of middle and lower class people in the US are patriotic and support US wars against the third world poor, even as those wars rob them of badly needed resources and create a terrorist military machine that can easily be turned against the domestic population. Why don't people get that? Anarchists spend time trying to figure it out, but we don't concede the point that wars are good for people just because a lot of people claim to think so.

Sex, like everything else in this society, is deeply colonized and distorted by the values of domination and conquest. Pornography comes from, and in its turn, promotes, a culture of sexual terrorism in which true "consent" is not even imaginable for most wimmin in the world today. Pornography not only displays wimmin in positions of bondage and in postures of humiliation, but also conveys the message that bondage and humiliation are what wimmin want. As the whip cuts open her back, or the penis cuts open her thighs, she smiles and begs for more. She says, "this is what I want because this is who I am. I'm a woman and I'm a whore. Any woman who says she doesn't want it is lying. Give it to her anyway."

PORNOGRAPHY: A STATE SPONSORED INDUSTRY

The third argument — that the state opposes the porn industry and wants to shut it down — might be an encouraging sign if only it were true. I say "encouraging" because if the government really wanted to shut the industry down, then its failure to do so has been spectacular. Were the state as ineffective at raising an army, fleecing its citizens and stamping out resistance movements, then the anarchist revolution would be a cake-walk. The fact is that the porn industry has flourished under the capitalist state because it serves the state's interests; for capitalism, human beings are the ultimate commodity, and porn commodifies wimmin and children even as it robs them of their self-possession and humanity.

The state allegedly has opposed pornography through two means: obscenity law and zoning ordinances. Obscenity law compliments the world-view of pornographers by looking at how "sexually explicit" (sic) materials affect the minds (read "penises") of their consumers. Obscenity laws absolutely never asks any questions about how such materials affect their "subject matter" (read "real wimmin"). Pornography's message is: all that matters is whether this picture gives a man an erection. Obscenity laws' standard is: does this picture give a man an erection (without doing anything else that men find worthwhile)?

The state could not have devised a body of law that better reinforces the values of pornographers than does obscenity law. If the "obscenity law" model had applied to chattel slavery, the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution would have outlawed the Black

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Broadsheet?

"Broadsheet Edition" is an old newspaper term for a special edition, shorter than the usual paper. This issue of *Love and Rage* is special because we are broke and we can't afford to print our regular 16 pages. In the past we've skipped months, but we think coming out every month is important. If you think so too, we desperately need your help financing the paper. Next month we'll be back with 16 pages: the Anarchist Youth Federation, On Gogol Boulevard, Anarchist Black Cross, Letters, and Notes of Revolt pages; back with our political statement, our news, analysis and coverage of the social movements unless we're still shit broke then, too.

slave trade only in those instances where it could be found that it corrupted the morals of white people.

Zoning law does nothing but assure that pornography and the rest of the sex industry will remain in the very neighborhoods from which the victims are drawn. This protects rich and privileged people, many of whom consume pornography, from the collateral violence intrinsic to pornographic production. Writing about pornography, feminist lawyer Catherine MacKinnon accurately observes: "Shielded from public view, in part through collaboration with the law, has been the manufacture from skin and blood and ruined lives of a vicious product made by vicious people." (*Pornography and Civil Rights: A New Day for Women's Equality*, 1984, p. 25).

So much for the government's "opposition" to the porn industry.

The persistent myth that the porn industry and the government are at odds with one another fosters the illusion that porn is somehow "anti-authoritarian." When I reminded one opponent of our amendment that the porn industry hurts thousands — if not million or billions — of wimmin each year, he replied that the "right-wing" hurts and kills at least as many wimmin by blocking abortions, denying them needed economic benefits, etc. Therefore, he somehow reasoned, we ought not to take a position against the porn industry. Without disputing his point that the so-called right wing hurts and kills wimmin, I'm still baffled at his logic. After all, it's not as if pornographers champion wimmin's procreative choice or lobby for their economic security. And who says pornographers are not themselves right-wing? The truth is that fighting the porn industry and opposing both the state and the radical right are not only consistent, but often involve fighting the same people.

Which, for example, is "worse," pinning a womyn to the floor and gang raping her, as is depicted and celebrated in countless porn magazines, or forcing that raped womyn to carry to term the pregnancy resulting from the gang rape, as the so-called "pro-lifers" would do?

Instead of focusing so obsessively on the few points of disagreement between Christian minister Jerry Falwell and *Hustler* publisher Larry Flint, how about noticing what they have in common? Both of them enthusiastically support men's unquestioned right to dominate wimmin, and each man depends upon the other for ballast in the same way that the US and Soviet Union depended upon the threat of the other during the "Cold War" to justify their respective forms of domestic repression.

Falwell and Flint both perpetrate the myth that wimmin are either virgins or whores. Falwell says that virgins make better wives. Flint says whores are more fun. Both men share a puritanical view of sexuality, and both depict wimmin as evil temptresses in need of a strong bridle. Flint says that what she needs to shut her up is a good, hard fuck; Falwell agrees, but advises you to marry her first.

Falwell's patriarchy is based on an essentially private model in which wimmin and children are the personal possessions of individual men; Flint's patriarchy is based on a public model in which each womyn's sexuality is the common property of every man with a quarter to shove in the slot or a few bucks to buy the magazine. Anarchists have no trouble understanding that US corporate capitalism and Stalinist state capitalism are a lot alike in their respective capacities to fuck up people's lives. Why is it so hard to see that puritanical religion and the male-dominated porn industry both thrive on the sexual subordination of wimmin to men? Why isn't it obvious that the pornographic construction of womyn complements (rather than contradicts) centuries of moralistic Christian womyn hating?

ABOUT CENSORSHIP

Since the state supports the porn industry, we'd be fools to expect the state ever to join us in attacking the root causes of pornography. We know that the state will censor only that which defies its authority or exposes its lies. Since pornography is deeply authoritarian and is based on lies, state censorship laws, if any were passed, would only encourage pornography's circulation. Although there are very few feminists who support state censorship as an effective means to attack the porn industry, I have rarely met a critic of our position who doesn't think censorship is what we really want.

We should realize that the porn industry will continue to hurt wimmin whether it operates within or outside of the state's formal laws. Indeed, the porn industry already masquerades as countercultural, dissident and outside the recognized power structure (this pseudo-illicitness is part of the turn-on). Making pornography "illegal" would do nothing to liberate its millions of victims. Besides, it isn't going to happen.

The way to fight pornography is not by repressing it but by exposing it, by holding it up so that people who are privileged enough to pretend it isn't around will have to see what it does, and who it hurts. We need to educate people about the pornography industry, to expose its sources of profit, and its connection to prostitution, abduction, rape, incest, the mail-order bride business, and other forms of female sexual slavery. Let's look at how porn promotes the idea that wimmin and children belong to men and can be used as men's sexual property. Let's begin to see the ways porn promotes white supremacy by sexualizing racism, how it sexualizes the Southern plantation, the Nazi death camp, the slaughter of Native Americans, the servitude of Asian people. Let's look at our own sexuality to see how and why sex is so often a source not of pleasure and intimacy, but of alienation, violation, and grief. Then let's try to see what pornography has to do with the hatred so many of us feel for our own and other people's bodies, and with the diminished sexual expectations so many of us settle for.

If you then conclude that the porn industry should no longer be allowed to hurt and kill people, that it should not be permitted to colonize our sexuality and to sever all connections between sex and justice, then start fighting the porn industry. Fight it in the streets and on the job and in the home, in the same places where you claim to be fighting the state which sponsors it.

CONCLUSION

What I'm really saying is this: an anarchist movement that's not dedicated to fighting the pornography industry isn't a real anarchist movement. You can't have anarchy if you don't have equality, and you can't have equality if some people are other people's property. Pornography is about the sexual ownership of the socially powerless by the socially powerful. It's about the sexualization of oppression, where inequality itself becomes a sexual turn-on.

If abusive power, incest, rape, slavery and murder turn you off, then you need to help turn off the vast flow of profits and the even more vast flow of human life into the porn industry's human meat grinder. Help fight for a world where choice is real, and where sex is about truth and about pleasure and about intimacy because it's also fundamentally about justice.★

ATTACKS ON BIOTECHNOLOGY IN THE NETHERLANDS

BY JAN KRAKER

ON THE WEEKEND OF July 27 and 28, three fields of genetically manipulated plants in the Netherlands were destroyed by a clandestine action group calling itself the *Razende Rooiers* (the Raging Diggers).

In the town of Rilland, a field of genetically manipulated corn, owned by a subsidiary of the Dutch corporation Suikerunie, was razed. Fields of genetically altered potatoes, from the Belgian firm Plant Genetic Systems, were destroyed in the towns of Wageningen and Bant. These last two fields were operated by the Hettema corporation in conjunction with Prosperina BV. In total, the attacks caused tens of thousands of dollars in damage and set back the genetic tests by as much as two years.

The Dutch press, of course, reacted furiously to the attacks. What's more, they made much of the fact that the Dutch autonomist paper *NN* had listed the addresses of corporate testing fields in issue No. 89.

AGAINST BIO-TECH

To explain their actions, the *Razende Rooiers* issued a lengthy communique which was also published in *NN*. The *Razende Rooiers* defended their militant approach:

"The destruction of a test field is designed to both start a discussion on the subject of bio-technology, as well as to offer a direct counter to pro-bio-tech propaganda in the form of sabotage.

Resistance — in whatever form — to bio-technology is not only necessary, it is also legitimate.

"And you don't have to be an expert to use a shovel."

They go on to discuss the theoretical necessities of offering concrete resistance to corporate bio-technology playing a bigger a bigger role in food production. While people have selected and bred plants selectively for eons, this corporate research is an attempt by multinational corporations to control more and more of the world's resources. For example, multinationals are patenting seeds for particular strains of plants — whose development have been hundreds of generations in the making, but have been snapped up by the corporate types. Then the corporations have a monopoly on crops that thrive in difficult environments — and may become, like the winter wheat a lot of us eat, very popular or even standard crops. Many genetically manipulated strains are sterile — they produce fruit or grain, but no fertile seeds — so that farmers must buy seeds from the multi-nationals every year.

At the same time, the use of bio-technology reduces the multi-nationals' dependence on local conditions, opening the door for completely artificial food production. Local populations may become increasingly dependent on the products of the multi-nationals, and this second "Green Revolution" may have the same fate as the first: indigenous food production processes, skills and resources are lost and formerly self-sufficient people are forced to buy imported and artificially produced food. Thus capital is able to force everyone to buy everything through the commodity market.

GREEN REVOLUTION OR REVOLUTIONARY GREENS?

Just as with the Green Revolution, the use of bio-technology will probably bring great gains in food production, but it will also carry with it newer and bigger problems. Far from solving the world's hunger problem (which stems from unequal distribution and not from under-production), bio-technology will serve to further marginalize and colonize the so-called Third World.

This new wave of bio-technology will probably be as destructive to the environment as the last one was, since bio-tech manipulated crops usually require chemical fertilizers and pesticides which the multi-nationals themselves will gladly supply — for plenty of money.

What's more, the spread of manipulated plants will result in a drastic loss of important genetic diversity. Already, 50% of the world's population are fed by three plants: wheat, rice, and corn. The widespread use of Bio-tech crops would drastically reduce the number of naturally occurring varieties of these plants. So if the conditions change where the plants are grown — like there is half as much rain one year, or a new insect moves in — the less diverse crop population may be completely destroyed, whereas a more diverse population would probably have some survivors. Also, 93% of the present world's supply of genetic data is stored in the gene banks of Western corporations and scientific institutes, who don't feel bad about using it to make big money and oppress people.

What will result from this, if past experience is any indication, is a highly paternalistic and grossly racist attitude on the part of multi-nationals towards indigenous farming peoples. The use of bio-technology will probably continue to be not for but against the Third World, because societies which had long since grown accustomed to reaping harvests with locally available labor and with tried and trusted farming techniques will suddenly be cast off as "primitive and inefficient." Here comes the "benevolent" multi-national with its highly-skilled staff of white Western employees, its stocks of chemicals, and its immense reserves of capital. All of this will most likely result in the environmental, economic, political, and cultural marginalization of Third World societies.

The topic of bio-technology has not, as yet, become a central focus for the environmental movement of the autonomous-left in North America. A notable exception is the threatened destruction of the Audobon Ballroom in New York City (The site of Malcolm X's assassination) and its replacement with a multi-million dollar Columbia University genetic research facility, around which the Left Green Network and other environmental activists have begun to more actively support the community's resistance (see *Love and Rage* August 1990).

It is important that both the autonomous-left and the radical environmental movement begin to formulate a coherent critique of bio-technology and begin to work out an effective and concrete strategy to resist its implementation. The issue extends far beyond crop alteration. The developing possibilities of altering human embryos — or aborting the ones that have been revealed to have undesirable characteristics — raise difficult questions and instantly bring up memories of Nazi eugenics programs.

Though *Razende Rooiers* attacks were carried out in Europe, the relevance of their message and the issues raised in their communique are clearly just as relevant to our movement here in North America. And after all, you don't have to be expert to use a shovel.★

Resistance 101:

A History of Native Struggles (Part I)

BY GORD H.

IN THE COMING YEAR, 1992, THE 500th year mark of the "Discovery of the Americas" will be upon us. In the years leading up to this point, the various nations which profited from the colonization have been preparing lavish celebrations: Spain has spent billions of dollars for celebrations in Seville, Canada has spent 40 million dollars in building an "Age of Discovery" pavilion. In Columbus, Ohio, a $100 million quincentennial celebration plans on entertaining several million tourists with its own version of history. As well, there is a multitude of museum exhibits, films, TV shows, books and various other activities, all presenting one interpretation of the 500 years since the "Discovery."

The main thrust of this interpretation is that the colonization process — a process of genocide — has, with a few "bad spots," been overall, a mutually beneficial process. The "greatest" of European cultures, religion, etc., was brought to the Indigenous peoples, who in return "gave" their land to the Europeans and certain aspects of their cultures to retain that "new world" charm.

However, the most recent manifestations of Indigenous peoples's resistance, from the Lubicon Cree in northern Alberta, to the struggle of the Kanienkehake (Mohawks) in Kanehsatake and Kahnawake, and James Bay Cree, Western Shoshone, and the imprisonment of Leonard Peltier, clearly show that the conquest of the lands and peoples of the Americas is in fact an on-going process: neither the land nor the peoples have been conquered. The resistance continues.

Indigenous peoples in the Americas have organized and called for a campaign against the 1992 celebrations. One part of this is learning what the Genocide process was, how it began in 1492, and how it was developed and continues today.

BEFORE THE GENOCIDE

Before the beginning of the Genocide, the Americas were densely populated with natural peoples, as diverse and varied as any of the other continental land masses; Afrika, Asia and Europe.

Some of the most recent estimates place this population at approaching 100 million, with various population areas ranging from as many as 30 million people, to peripheral areas with several thousands.

In the Arctic region lived the Inuit (the people also called "Eskimo"), and Aleut.

South of the Arctic peoples, in the Subarctic region which spans the entire width of the continent, lived nomadic hunting and fishing peoples.

On the pacific north-west coast region, from what is now known as Alaska to the San Francisco area, were peoples who lived from the seas; the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Salish and others. Their populations prior to the Genocide is estimated to have been four million.

Between the Pacific coastal region and the central plains area further east, were clan-based democratic communities. Here lived the nomadic hunters such as the Chopunnish, Sahatpin (Nez Perce), Shoshones, Siksikas (Blackfeet, including the Blood and Piegan) and others.

These peoples numbered around 200,000 prior to the Genocide.

To the east were the people of the plains. Here, primarily nomadic peoples who hunted but also grew vegetables in some areas, were the Lakota (also known as the "Sioux"), Cheyenne, Arapaho, plains Cree, Siksikas (Blackfeet) and others. Before the Genocide, these peoples numbered up to one million, and the buffalo as many as 80 million before their slaughter by the Europeans.

Further east, the lands stretching from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic and south to the Carolinas, were occupied by hunting and agricultural peoples; the Kanienkehake (also known as "Mohawks"), Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca (these five nations formed the Haudenosaunee — the People of the Longhouse — also known to the British as the "Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy," and after the Tuscaroras sought shelter among them in 1712, the "Six Nations"), Ojibway, Algonkin, MicMac, and others. Their peoples numbered up to two million prior to the Genocide.

South of this area, from the Virginias down to Florida, and west to the Gulf of Mexico, were the Muskogee-speaking Choctaw, Creek and Chickasaw nations, the Cherokee, and the Natchez. One of the most fertile agricultural belts in the world, farming as well as hunting and fishing were the primary lifeways (later, this area would provide the base for the slave-labor intensive cash crop production established by the colonizers). Before the Genocide, these peoples numbered between two and three million.

West of this, in what is now the southwest of the US, lived agrarian and nomadic peoples, including the Pueblo, Hopis and Zuni, the Yumun-speaking Hualapai, Mojave, Yuma, and Cocopa, the Uto-Aztecan speaking Pimas, the Papagos, and the Athapascans, which included the Navajo and Apache peoples. On the eve of the Genocide, the population of this region was about two million.

In the Mesoamerican region of what is now Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize were the populous agricultural peoples, including the Aztecs, Texcoco, Tlacopan and Mayans (in the Yucatan peninsula region). Here, large city-states, dams, canals, stone and brick buildings were built. Writing, publishing of books and other aspects of what would now be called "civilization" were established. What was also established was a dominant class, slavery and an overall social organization which was based on hierarchy and domination. They were also in the process of decay with uprisings and revolts, until the intervention from the Europeans put a halt to any regional developments. Altogether in the Mesoamerican region the peoples numbered approximately 40 million.

In the Caribbean basin, including the coastal areas of what are known today as Venezuela and Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, and the many islands (including the West Indies: Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, etc.) were fishing, hunting and farming peoples such as the Cariba, Arawaks and others. Here, where the Genocide landed and expanded, the peoples numbered several million.

In all of the South America there were as many as 50 million people. In the Amazon area of what is known today as Brazil, as well as Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia and northern Peru lived the Yanomami, Aymara, Mojos, Quechuas (descendants from the Incas), Chunchu, Zaparo and Jivaro peoples. On the Pacific coast of the region (Peru and Chile) lived the dominant Incas, composed of the Quechua and Aymara peoples in the Andean highlands, and the Mapuche (Araucan) peoples (in southern Chile). In the southern region (Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay) lived the Guarani peoples.

THE GENOCIDE BEGINS

"Their bodies swelled with greed, and their hunger was ravenous"— Aztec testimony.

On October 12, 1492 Christopher Columbus stumbled upon the island of Guanahani (San Salvador) in the Caribbean. On Guanahani, Columbus encountered the first Indigenous peoples, Arawaks. Under the illusion that he had reached India, he named them "Indians."

For their part, the Arawaks welcomed the wayward travellers, so impressing Columbus with their hospitality and giving that he noted their happiness and that "They would make fine servants. With fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want." Consequently, he was to kidnap some 500 Arawaks and ship them back to Spain to be sold as slaves. So great were Columbus's outrages that he was forced to execute some of his own crew who attempted to mutiny. Testimony of Columbus's racism, misogyny and greed can be found in his own journals, including the statement "The west is a Virgin. I am her white knight."

The "West" was then brutally raped, tortured, and dominated; her children put to the cross, sword, and flame. "Even his name was prophetic to the world he encountered — Christopher Columbus translates to 'Christ-bearer Colonizer'" (*Akwasasne Notes*, Vol. 9, no. 4).

Leaving a group of men on the island of Hispaniola, Columbus returned to Spain to gather the materials for the coming colonization and to report on his journey. On his second expedition, Columbus returned to Hispaniola with 17 ships and 1,200 men. The detachment he had left on Hispaniola (now the Dominican Republic and Haiti) had been killed by the Arawaks; the resistance had already begun.

After Columbus came wave upon wave of first Spanish, then Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English expeditions, carrying with them conquistadors, mercenaries, merchants, and Christian missionaries.

Hispaniola served as the first beachhead, used by the Spanish as a staging ground for armed incursions and reconnaissance missions, justified through European legalities and sanction of the church. One year after Columbus's first expedition, Pope Alexander VI, in his *inter cetera divina* papal bull, granted Spain all the world not already possessed by Christian states, excepting the region of Brazil, which went to Portugal. While the Spaniards laid the groundwork for their plans of exploitation, other European nations began to send their own expeditions.

The Invasion intensified and expanded. In 1513, Ponce de Leon, under Spain, landed in the region later known as Florida. Eighty Calusa war canoes drove his ships from the coast. From 1517 to 1521, the Spanish conquistador Hernando Cortes laid waste to the Aztecs in Mexico, slaughtering millions. Following this, in 1524, the conquistador Pedro de Alvarado invaded the regions of El Salvador, ravaging the Cuscatlan, Pipeles, and Quiche peoples, and Guatemala, where he attacked the Mayans. In 1531, the Spaniard Francisco Pizarro invaded the region inhabited by the Incas (now Peru). Taking advantage of an internal struggle between two Inca factions, led by the brothers Huascar and Atahualpa, Pizarro succeeded in subjugating the Incas by 1533.

Ten years later, Pedro de Valdivia claimed Chile for the Spanish crown, although fierce resistance from the Mapuches (Araucanians) restricted the Spanish to the northern and central regions. The Mapuches eventually killed Valdivia in battle.

During this same period, Jacques Cartier, sailing under France in 1534, was reconnoitering the regions of what would become eastern Canada, and Spaniards such as Hernando de Soto, Marcos de Niza and others began penetrating into North America, claiming the lands for their respective countries.

In its early years the Genocide was concentrated in the Mesoamerican and Caribbean regions, as well as the northern regions of South America. Here, the Spanish colonization was the most intense.

EXPANSION, EXPLOITATION, AND EXTERMINATION

The early years of the Genocide were directed towards exploiting the lands to the fullest. To the Europeans, the Americas were a vast, unspoiled area suitable for economic expansion and resource exploitation.

In areas such as the highlands of northern Chile, Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico, where the climate was more suitable, the Spanish were able to grow crops such as wheat, cauliflower, cabbage, lettuce, radish, sugar cane, and later grapes, bananas and coffee. By the mid-1500s, many of these crops, particularly wheat and sugar cane, were large-scale exports for the European markets.

In other areas, sprawling herds of cattle were established. Herds which rarely exceeded 800 or 1,000 in Spain now reached as many as 8,000. By 1579 some ranches in northern Mexico had up to 150,000 head of cattle (Crosby, "The Biological Consequences of 1492," *Report on the Americas*, vol. XXV, no. 2).

The effects of extensive land-clearing for the crops and ranches, and the vast herds of grazing cattle, culminated in increasing deforestation and environmental damage. More immediate for the Indigenous peoples in the region, and especially those who lived on subsistence agriculture, was the dismantling and destruction of agrarian ways.

Another area of economic interest was the precious metals in the region, particularly gold and silver, then a form of currency among the European nations. The accumulation of gold and silver was first accomplished through theft, plunder, and *encomiendas* — a form of taxation imposed on Indigenous communities that had been subjugated — and the use of slaves to pan the rivers and streams. By the mid 1500s the expropriation of gold and silver involved intensive mining. Entire cities and towns built up around mining areas or export routes. Millions of Indigenous peoples would die working as slaves in the mines at Guanajuato and Zacatecas in Mexico, and Potosi in Bolivia. By the end of the 1500s, Potosi was one of the largest cities in the world, at 350,000 inhabitants. Peru was another area of intensive mining, so much so that it has been referred to as Spain's "gold bank."

In areas where gold and silver weren't as abundant, the climate unsuitable for European crops, or before the establishment of long-term economic activities such as agriculture, the major profit-making activity was the slave trade itself. Not only for work in the mines and plantations, but also for export to Europe. In Nicaragua alone, the first ten years of the slave trade, beginning in 1525, saw an estimated 450,000 Miskitu and Sumu peoples shipped to Europe. Tens of thousands perished in brutal working conditions in the ships that transported them. Subsequently, the slave trade would turn to Afrika, as in 1530 when the Portuguese brought Afrikan slaves to their settlements in Brazil.

Clearly, the thrust of Spanish colonization was the expansion of economically based structures and the exploitation of the land and resources: "The Americas provided Europeans a vast new area for ex-

pansion and material exploitation. Initially, the Americas provided new and even finished materials for the developing world economy" (*Akwesasne Notes*, vol. 9, no. 3).

In order to carry out this expansion and exploitation, the subjugation of the Indigenous peoples was a necessity. The campaign of extermination, with massacres and other forms which will be discussed later, was a prerequisite for first Spanish, and then other European powers', subjugation of the Indigenous nations.

The task of colonizing other peoples was one in which the Europeans had had plenty of experience:

"In a sense, the first people colonized under the profit motivation by the use of labor...were the European and English peasantry. Ireland, Bohemia, and Catalonia were colonized. The Moorish nation as well as the Judaic Sephardic nation, were physically deported by the Crown of Castille from the Iberian peninsula... All the institutions of colonialism, all the methods for relocation, deportation and expropriation, were already practiced if not perfected" (Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas*).

Prior to Columbus's first voyage in 1492, the development of a capitalist mode of production had already dispossessed European peasants of independent production and subsistence agriculture. Subsequently, they were to enter into a relationship of forced dependence to land owners and manufacturers, leading to their own impoverishment and periods of intense class struggle as the Industrial Revolution (fueled by the expropriation of materials from the Americas) loomed ever larger.

Eventually the lower classes of Europe would emigrate to the Americas. However, the majority during the first three centuries following 1492 who emigrated permanently to the Americas were "impoverished" merchants, petit-bourgeois traders, mercenaries, and missionaries, all hoping to build their fortunes in the "New World." Permanent settlements were at first limited, their main purpose being to facilitate and maintain areas of exploitation. During the entire 16th Century, only an estimated 100,000 Europeans were permanent emigrants to the Americas. Their effects, however, were overwhelming: in the same 100 year period, the populations of the First Peoples declined from approximately 100 million to ten million.

Apologists for the Genocide attribute the majority of deaths to the spread of disease epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, introduced by unknowing Europeans. While attempting to diminish the scale and intensity of the Genocide (other forms of this diminishment are claiming that the population of Indigenous peoples at the time of contact were a portion of what researchers such as Borah, Pierre Chaunu and Wilbur Jacobs have estimated), such a perspective also disregards the conditions in which these diseases were introduced. Conditions such as wars, outright massacres and scorched-earth policies, slavery, as well as the destruction of subsistence agriculture,and the accompanying starvation, malnutrition, and dismemberment of communally-based cultures. The misogynist nature of the Genocide attacked women, mothers and sisters, with rape, mutilation, torture, and the kidnapping of children.

These conditions were not introduced by "unknowing" Europeans: they were parts of a calculated campaign aimed at exterminating the Indigenous peoples. European diseases, introduced into these conditions, came as an after-effect of the initial attacks. Once the effects of the epidemics were realized, however, the use of biological warfare was also planned in the form of infested blankets and other textiles traded to the Indigenous peoples: "I am smallpox...I come from far away...where the great water is and then far beyond it. I am a friend of the Big Knives who have brought me; they are my people" (Jamake Highwater, *Anpao: An Indian Odyssey*).

PATTERNS ESTABLISHED AND REPEATED

While the Spaniards were destroying the Caribbean and Mesoamerican regions, the Portuguese were carrying out similar campaigns in Brazil. The patterns established by the Spanish would be repeated by the Portuguese during the 16th century in Brazil, proceeding into the 17th century in both Brazil and Uruguay, where in 1624 Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries succeeded in opening up the area to colonization (earlier Spanish expeditions had been repelled by the Charruas). By 1680, Portuguese colonists based in Brazil had established colonies, and similar developments occurred in what was to become Paraguay, with first Jesuit missionaries and then Portuguese (and Spanish) colonists following.

By the beginning of the 17th century, Spanish and Portuguese expeditions had penetrated virtually every region in the southern hemisphere, establishing numerous settlements, mines, ranches and plantations. Despite all this, there were still large areas in which European claims to lands remained a theoretical proposition; these areas remained outside of European control with fierce Indigenous resistance. This was particularly so in the southern regions.

As has already been noted, French expeditions in the 1530s had penetrated the north-eastern regions around what would become Québec. The Dutch, French and British were relatively limited in their exploits in the South Americas, occupying regions and islands discovered and by-passed by the Spanish or Portuguese. It would be in North America where their main efforts would be directed.

In the beginning of the 1600s, as the horse was introduced to North America and began spreading through the southwest and into the Great Plains, Samuel de Champlain, financed by France, expanded on Cartier's earlier expedition, penetrating as far west as what would become known as Lake Huron and Lake Ontario in present day Ontario. His attacks on Onondaga communities, using Huron warriors, would turn the Haudenosaunee against the French. As in the first phase of the Genocide in Central and South America, the military success of the Europeans would rely on the exploitation of traditional conflicts between many Indigenous nations, making alliances where possible, supplemented by the spread of deadly diseases.

While de Champlain was laying the groundwork for French expansion, the British succeeded in establishing their first permanent settlement, in 1607 at Jamestown (Virginia). In 1620 Pilgrims (English Puritans) landed on the Atlantic coast and established the Plymouth colony. Meanwhile, Beothuks in Newfoundland retaliated against a French settler attack, killing 37 French settlers in 1613. The French responded by arming MicMacs, traditional enemies of the Beothuks, and offering bounties for Beothuk scalps. The combined attacks by the French and MicMacs would lead to the eventual extermination of the Beothuk nation.

In 1624, the Dutch established Fort Orange (later to become Albany, New York) and claimed the area as New Netherland.

Substantial differences in the lands, fauna, and natural resources were one factor which made for qualitative differences between the first phase of the genocide in the southern regions of Mesoamerica and South America, and the second phase, in North America. In South and Central America metals, such as gold and silver, financed much of the invasion. As well, the dense populations of the region offered large numbers of peoples for the slave trade, and the forms of social organization among, for example, the Aztecs and Incas, led to their quick subjugation, slaughter, and enslavement. In contrast, the Europeans who concentrated on North America found a lower population density, and the lands, though fertile for crops and abundant in fur-bearing animals, contained little in the way of precious metals. Nor could the extermination process be a simple matter of marching into a large city-state and annihilating the people; the Indigenous nations in North America were to begin a protracted guerilla war against the invaders which would not be pacified until the massacre at Wounded Knee, in 1890.

The initial settlements, located from New York south to Virginia, relied on the hospitality afforded them by the Indigenous nations. In a strange and foreign land, with different fauna and animal species to those found in Europe, the first waves of immigrant/colonizers relied on the Indigenous peoples. Surplus agricultural products were shared with the first struggling settlements, as was knowledge of farming and fishing. For their part, the first settlers, lazy and otherwise shiftless opportunists, set about acquiring already cleared and cultivated pastures. Through their expansionist policies, fierce competition grew between the various settlements, even those from the same nation, in which the real victims would be the Indigenous peoples.

The bitter struggle for domination would frequently begin and end with massacres carried out against Indigenous people. In 1622, following the massacre of (presumably) Pequots by a force from the Plymouth colony, the Pequots attacked the Wessagusset settlement, which was promptly abandoned. The area and its trade was then absorbed into the Plymouth colony.

As more colonies were established, expanded, and consolidated, European settlers, through the extensive trading that developed and the gradual subjugation of indigenous nations through wars and disease, succeeded in forcing relationships of dependence onto the First Peoples. Trade broke up traditional practices and culture; not because the use of a metal pot or knife was not "indigenous," but because the manufacture and supply of such materials, including rifles and many textile goods, remained in the hands of the Europeans. This phenomenon, and the rapid depopulation which occurred, were central to the rise of European dominance. Treaties were one way, it seemed, of negotiating some level of peace with the ravenous European settlers. In reality, they became another tool in the European arsenal. In most cases, deception and outright fraud were used, including reading one version of a treaty to a Native council, and signing another version on paper (see Jennings, *The Invasion of America* for numerous examples). The Native nations were dispossessed of their lands along the Atlantic coast area. But the European expansion was not uniform; individual colonies often acquired lands independently, and competition accelerated as those lands were absorbed. Native nations who then found themselves being limited to certain areas, rebelled.

In 1622, the Powhatan Confederacy had launched a war against the Jamestown settlement under Opechancanough, destroying several settlements and killing 350 settlers. Clashes continued until 1644, when Openchancanough was killed in captivity, following 22 years of massacres carried out by the English. There were many other conflicts and rebellion; in 1655 the so-called "Peach Wars" erupted between the colonies of New Netherlands and the Delaware nation after a Dutch settler killed a Delaware woman for picking peaches. Delaware warriors attacked several Dutch settlements. The fighting along the Hudson River lasted until 1664, after the Dutch forced the Delaware into submission by kidnapping Native children as hostages.

In 1675 the Narragansetts, Nipmucs and Wapanoags, led by Metacom (also called King Philip) rebelled against the colonies of New England, following the English arrest and hanging of three Wapanoags for the killing of a Christianized Native, believed to be a traitor. The war ended one year later, after the English colonies, making use of Native allies and informers, defeated the rebellion, killing Metacom and selling his family, and hundreds of others, to slavers in the West Indies. The near-extermination of the Narragansetts, Wapanoags, and Nipmucs was the result.

In 1680, the Pueblo uprising, led by the Tewa medicine man Pope, succeeded in driving out the Spanish in New Mexico. By 1689, the Spanish succeeded in subjugating the Pueblos again (in 1598, Onate's expedition into the Rio Grande had also led to an uprising Pimas of Acoma. The Spanish retaliation included massacring 800 Pimas, and amputating one foot off every male over 25).

By the late 1600s, the competition between European states would dominate the Genocide process in North America.

THE EUROPEAN STRUGGLE FOR HEGEMONY

Although colonial wars had been fought in the past between the countries of France, Spain, The Netherlands, and England, and conflicts had erupted between the various countries' settlements in the Americas, the late 1680s and the following 100 years was to be a period of bitter struggle between the Europeans for hegemony. This period of European history was to be played out also in the Americas: "To a great extent, the battle for colonies and the wealth they produced was the ultimate battlefield for state power in Europe (Ortiz, *Indians of the Americas*)."

Beginning in 1689 with King William's War between the French and English, which evolved into Queen Anne's War (1702-13), to King George's War (1744-48), and culminating in the so-called French and Indian War (1754-63), battles for colonial possessions used primarily Native warriors. While the English emerged victorious, and the French defeated, ceding Hudson Bay, Acadia, New France, and all of its territories east of the Mississippi to England, the true victims were the Indigenous peoples. Those Native nations which sided with the French were now subjugated to the English, exposed to new realities in trading and land allotment. Those which sided with the English weren't much better off, now being a disposable asset with the ending of colonial wars in North America. The fallout from the Europeans struggles was the virtual extermination of some Indigenous peoples, including the Apalachees in Florida, the establishment of more garrisons and outposts, and the subsequent expansion of settlements, extending the frontier and pushing many First Nations westward.

During the period of the colonial wars, Indigenous peoples' resistance did not end, nor was it limited to aiding their respective "allies." In 1711, the Tuscaroras rebelled against the settlements in North Carolina. Two years later, hundreds of Tuscaroras were killed and 400 sold into slavery. Fleeing to the north, the Tuscaroras settled among the Haudenosaunee, becoming the Sixth Nation in 1722. In South Carolina, in 1715, the Yamasee nation rose up against the English, whose counter offensive virtually exterminated the Yamasee.

Beginning in 1720, the Chickasaw resistance to the French was to continue up to France's succession in 1763. Similarly, Fox resistance to the French was to continue from 1720 to around 1735. In 1729, the Natchez also rebelled against the French, after the Louisiana governor, Sieur Chepart, ordered their main village emptied to make room for Chepart's plantations. In the conflict, Chepart was killed, and the French counter-insurgency campaign left the Natchez nation decimated, though guerrilla struggle continued along the Mississippi River. In 1760, the Cherokee nation began their own guerilla war against their "allies" the English, in Virginia and Carolina. Led by Oconostota, the Cherokees fought for two years, eventually agreeing to a peace pact which saw large portions of their territory ceded after the English counter-insurgency campaign had burned their villages and crops. In 1761, Aleuts in Alaska revolted against Russian traders. And, in 1763, as King George's Royal Proclamation was introduced, following the defeat of France, prohibiting displacement of Natives without both Native and Crown consent, Pontiac's rebellion against the English broke out. Comprising Algonquins, Senecas, Mingos, Wyandots, and Ottawas, the offensive captured nine of twelve English forts in New York, and laid siege to Detroit for six months. Unable to expand the insurgency, or drive the English out, Pontiac — a leader of the Ottawas — eventually negotiated an end to the conflict in 1766.

One year following the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Virginia colony showed how effective such grand statements were in reality by promptly violating a demarcation line that had been established between Native lands west of the Appalachians, and Europeans to the east. Ten years later, against England's control over the American colonies, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, established a boundary line from Lake Ontario south to Florida, and, to veterans of the "French and Indian Wars" who had served under him, granted lands which belonged to the Shawnee nation. The Shawnees retaliated, but were defeated. Lord Dunmore's War, as it has been called, was to precipitate in form and substance another period of conflict which would see the original European colonies spread westward: the "American Revolution."

This is the first part of an edited version of an article that will appear in Resistance *magazine. Gord H., editor of* Resistance, *is a member of the Kwakiutl nation in British Columbia.*★

THE HAZARDS OF DUKE

(Continued from cover)

tablishing the foundations for a fascist streetfighting organization. Other skinhead formations, such as the Hammer Skins, and the American Front continue to organize.

The clandestine armed Christian Identity organization known as The Order carried off a string of murders and robberies in the mid-1980s. The Christian Identity movement believes that white anglo-saxon christians are the lost tribes of Israel and that they have a mission to establish a "racially pure white nation" by means of a "white revolution." The Order was a splinter from the Christian Identity-based Aryan Nations, a group headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho that has been very active in trying to network the racist right.

The best known racist group in the US is the Ku Klux Klan, which is actually several competing organizations. The first Klan was established in 1866 right after the Civil War and was a major force in overthrowing the Black political power that had emerged in the South during the period of Reconstruction that followed the war. The Klan has experienced several revivals since then. The Klan has functioned as an extra-legal wing of official white supremacy by attempting to crush the struggle for Black liberation through lynchings, cross burnings and other acts of terror. In recent years the Klan's ideology has shifted from the more traditionalist defense of existing white supremacy to the Nazi vision of a "white revolution." Both Duke's NAAWP and Metzger's WAR are early 1980's splits from the Klan.

INTERNATIONAL FASCISM

The recent rise of fascism within the US is taking place within the context of a general rise in fascist activity in Europe and Canada as well. In Canada, British Nazi David Irving recently completed a cross country speaking tour. In Eastern Europe fascist groups have arisen in practically every country. In Germany, fascists have made significant electoral gains as Nazi skinheads have terrorized immigrant communities across the entire "reunified" state. In Spain, 10,000 fascists, with contingents from across Europe, marched through the streets of Madrid in November.

The re-emergence of fascism in Europe and North America is the result of several factors. First, immigration and population growth patterns and national liberation struggles have challenged the white supremacist conception of these regions as "white" territory. Second, the worldwide economic downturn has pushed many middle and working class people in these countries to embrace more radical tactics for social change. Finally, the general collapse of the authoritarian left (and the tininess of the anti-authoritarian left) has left a clear field for the fascists.

WHAT IS FASCISM?

The term "fascist" is thrown around loosely by people on the left to describe anybody on the right or anybody who behaves in an authoritarian way. This loose usage has robbed the word of some of its original meaning now when we need it to describe the real thing. Fascism is a militant mass movement of the dislocated middle classes to smash liberal democracy and to further militarize the economy. While it may ultimately win the support of much of the ruling class, fascism represents a radical break with the old capitalist order (hence the "socialism" in the National Socialism of the Nazis). Coupled with its character as a mass movement fascism appears in many ways as radical, insurgent, or even "revolutionary" movement. Generally, fascist ideology embraces racist notions of racial superiority and claims to be defending the "purity" of the race or nation.

Fascism is often thought of as simply more political repression. So the preparations of the state for martial law, the concentration of control of the media in fewer and fewer hands, the repression of cultural expression in music and the arts — all these things are called fascism. While these things reflect a climate in which fascism can take root and they establish certain precedents that fascists will no doubt cite as they rise to power it is important for us to make the distinction between the "normal" escalation of repression by the existing apparatus and the considerably more explosive emergence of an authentically fascist movement.

Most of what we know about fascism is based on the experiences of Europe, in particular Italy and Germany, from the 1920s to the 1940s. While fascism initially emerges as an autonomous movement of the middle classes, it becomes most dangerous when a section of the ruling class sees it as a force that can be used against the insurgency of the more oppressed classes. Fascism's value to the ruling class is its capacity for organized street violence against the left.

In Germany and Italy the backbone of the fascist movement was the dislocated middle classes. Economic crises and a general social breakdown following World War I cast huge sections of the middle classes into uncertainty about their futures. Many middle class people found themselves unemployed. Like much of the working class, sections of the middle class found themselves with little to lose by joining a radical movement. But because of their middle class origins these people had memories of the "good old days" that made them sympathetic to calls to restore traditional values and fearful of movements that challenged the privileges of property ownership. It is this schizophrenic pull between the radicalism of the dispossessed and the reactionary values of the propertied that is the core of fascism.

Once in power, the fascists are compelled to resolve the internal contradictions between the mass character of their movement and their counter-revolutionary program. While they may dramatically shake up the capitalist order they can only fulfill their program by increasing the exploitation of the working class.

Fascism promised to put everybody back to work, not by overthrowing the capitalist system of which unemployment was a permanent feature, but by breaking the unions, slashing wages, going to a war economy and forcing people to work. While talking about upholding traditional values this program could only be achieved by dramatically increasing the power of the state in the economy. This is exactly what the fascists did. For all of the brutality of their regimes they made good on their basic promises, they put everybody back to work and revived their national economies.

FASCISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY

The majority of white Louisianans voted for Duke. In the US, race (or nationality) functions in ways that are similar to how class has functioned in European politics. While many white people's economic position is working class, their privileged social position as white people leads them to act like and to think of themselves as middle class.

White supremacy is a system that has existed within the United States for the past several hundred years. It has molded together the millions of people who have come to this country from the many nations of Europe into a single soulless culture of whiteness. Regardless of all sorts of significant differences of class and culture, people of European descent have largely accepted their "whiteness" and see the efforts of Black people and other people of color to win their liberation as a threat to their privileges as white people. Much of the history of the workers movement in the US, for example, is the history of predominantly or exclusively white labor unions fighting to keep their jobs "white."

It should go without saying that this system benefits most the very rich and powerful. But the "benefits" to even the poorest whites are real: preference for jobs and housing, the level of violence that can be expected in dealing with the police, and, very importantly, the psychological sense of superiority over people of color. These are "the wages of whiteness" that lead many white workers to objectively side with their class enemy. So much of the white worker's sense of self is wrapped up in being white. It is something very difficult to give up.

Many of Duke's supporters are middle class whites feeling the pinch of the recession. But many working class whites have also rallied to Duke. A majority of whites in all income categories below $50,000 a year voted for Duke. The highest level of support for Duke was in white household making between $15,000 and $30,000 a year. Only among those families earning $50,000 or more did a majority of whites vote against Duke. While these working class whites may never remember some "good old days" when they had the property or power of the middle class, they know that they have always been white. So far that white skin has protected them from the even worse conditions of most Black people in Louisiana.

David Duke, and the larger fascist movement he is a part of, have an appeal to white workers, because those white workers have something to lose if Black liberation wins: the benefits of whiteness. To working class whites, the "pinch" of the recession is more like a vise. David Duke has come along to tell these people that the reason they are hurting is because Black people are taking their jobs through affirmative action and taking their money in the form of welfare. And the Jews who control the media and the politicians are behind it all. In other words, according to Duke, you can have the satisfaction of tearing down the system and you still get to be white and in fact the "former glory" of whiteness will be restored.

REPUBLICAN RESPONSIBILITY

Many people have pointed out how the use of racism by Ronald Reagan and George Bush has prepared the ground for the rise of David Duke. This is not accidental. Both the New Right of the Republican Party and the fascist movement of David Duke have aimed their appeals at the same white middle and working class constituency. This has been the conscious strategy of the Republican Party since 1964 when Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater ran against civil rights and lost everywhere except the South, thereby breaking the Democratic Party's stranglehold on the white South. This "Southern strategy" has given the Republicans control of the White House for 20 of the past 24 years and has for the past decade given renewed respectability to racist sentiments as long as they are thinly veiled as concerns about "welfare queens," "crime," or "quotas."

It remains to be seen whether so thinly veiled a Nazi as Duke can attract significant electoral support across. If he can't, there is always Pat Buchanan. Buchanan, a right wing columnist, former Reagan administration official, anti-Semite and chum of the fascist Liberty Lobby, has already indicated his intention to run against George Bush for the Republican Party presidential nomination in 1992. Buchanan is an important stepping stone between the "mainstream" conservatism of the Republican Party and the fascism of a David Duke. Such stepping stones will play a significant role in the future growth of fascist sentiment within the US.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

The capitalist media and the majority of wealthy white Louisianans were agreed that "now is not the time" for a Nazi to be Governor of Louisiana. These are not reliable allies in any serious effort to fight fascism. Under different circumstances these same forces might very well ally themselves with someone like Duke.

If anarchists hope to make a contribution to the fight against fascism it will be by building an anti-racist movement amongst working class people. The biggest barrier to doing this is the benefits of the "wages of whiteness." We can't build a working class anti-racist movement by lecturing white workers on "their privileges" but neither can we pretend that racism is just a "foolish idea" as easy to toss aside as the belief in Santa Claus. We need to organize around the same economic issues that the fascists are exploiting and fight for the idea that unity with Black workers and other workers of color is the only way to win real improvements and that a world free of racist hate is a valuable end in and of itself. This is the problem that faces anarchists and other anti-fascists, particularly white anti-fascists; to build a movement that demonstrates to white workers how much more they ultimately have to gain by siding with the movement for Black liberation and other liberation movements. An authentically anti-fascist movement has to demand that whiteness be given up, but it needs to do it in a way that shows how being real allies with the various liberation struggles makes possible real changes in the lives of white workers that the fascists can never offer.

This is the challenge that David Duke poses to us. ★

SPANISH SYNOPSIS

Articles appearing this month in the Spanish Section:

Cover: The first half of our interview with the Cuban opposition group *Sendero Verde*. Read the interview in English in our August 1991 issue.
Page 2: News of Syndicalism from South America. Read the reports in English in our November 1991 issue.

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AMOR Y RABIA

UNA PUBLICACION MENSUAL
ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

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EDICION RESUMIDA

OPOSICION VERDE EN CUBA

La siguiente entrevista con Mercedes Paez y Orlando Polo del movimiento Eco-Pacifista Sendero Verde *de Cuba, fue grabada en abril, tras su visita a Nueva York, durante su gira por E.U. después de haber sido autorizados a salir temporalmente de la isla. Previamente Orlando Polo escribió denunciando el invasión de EU a Panamá (*Amor y Rabia, *Mayo 1990)*

En la situación actual de Cuba es el momento para apoyar y informar las diferentes alternativas de movimientos como Sendero Verde, *el cual rechaza tanto el Comunismo como al capitalismo, al tiempo que la "Izquierda" (como Coalición en Contra de la Intervención de EU en Cuba) promueve a su fetiche Fidel Castro y por otro lado la "derecha" planea su invasión.*

Por este motivo, NYC-Ni Este Ni Oeste, en cooperación con Latinoamérica-Ni Este Ni Oeste (Cubanos y otros grupos de Imigrantes Latinoaméricanos y exiliados) nos hemos solidarizado con Sendero Verde *como parte de nuestras actividades.*

Nuestro inmediato esfuerzo es porque Orlando y Mercedes retornen a Cuba. Ellos fuerón amenazados por la Seguridad del Estado con el "no regreso" que significa en otras palabras y sí hay regreso la cárcel. Si suceded, lo sabremos inmeditamente y estaremos listos para organizar protestas en apoyo. Si tu estas interesado en contactarte con Sendero Verde*; escribe a:*

Neither East Nor West
528 5th St.
Brooklyn, NY 11215

Bill Weinberg: ¿Cuando se formó *Sendero Verde*?

Orlando Polo: Oficialmente nos formamos en Agosto 6 de 1988. Pero antes existieron otros grupos en lo que participamos nosotros, creados también por nosotros, que sirvieron de experiencia a nuestro trabajo para después dar lugar a la constitución de *Sendero Verde*.

BW: ¿Cuantos miembros integran el grupo?

OP: Actualmente, nosotros no manejemos cifras porque no nos interesa el número de miembros de *Sendero* sí no la calidad y la actividad en la estructura.

BW: ¿Cuantos son los miembros activos en el grupo?

OP: Al inicio de constituirse *Sendero* en 1988 eramos 18 personas. Creamos en aquel momento una estructura convencional de pirámide siendo yo el presidente, y los de más vice-presidentes y directivos. Solo que en 1990 cambiamos esta estructura y la convertimos en una estructura radial.

BW: ¿Una estructura radial?

OP: Actualmente estamos constituidos por un grupo de dirección de cinco elementos en la célula central. Mercedes y yo y tres elementos más. Cada uno de nosotros va a trabajar con cuatro elementos más. De este modo se crea lo que nosotros llamamos una "Cadena derivativa." O sea, porque despues cada uno de estos cuatro elementos se va a multiplicar por cuatro más. Y así infinitamente.

BW: Hasta donde ha llegado este proceso?

Op: Hasta una quinta generación. En la estructura nos convertimos este el grupo central, 16 elementos que se multiplican por 4, por 4, por 4...Atravez de todo el pais. Nosotros al constituir estas células le damos un carácter independiente...tienen "Autónomia" en el trabajo de *Sendero*. Equilvale a un grupo de dirección igual que el nucleo central que va trabajar de acuerdo de un programa central que es de carácter general. Un programa abierto y pluralista. Porqué 5 elementos? Primero cinco elementos del punto de vista sociologico es considerado el socio-grupo más equilibrado donde se compensan las diferencias de los elementos de una manera más harmonica. Es más facil para dirigir el trabajo. Y es más realista la posibilidad de reunir cinco personas que reunir

Mercedes Paez y Orlando Polo

más para cualquier trabajo. Pero ademas en Cuba por razones legales se limita la creaciòn de cualquier grupo de màs de 5 personas. Para la seguridad del estado más de cinco personas reunidas se convierte en algo sospechoso. Entonces se cree un atencional sobre este grupo puesto que se manifiesta sospechoso para la seguridad del Estado. Claro sí se trata de grupos como, los Cómites de Defensa de la Revolución o otros, no hay problema. Pero sí estan reunidos miembros de *Sendero Verde* o Del Cómite de los Derechos Humanos entonces sí hay problema.

BW: ¿Que tipo de vigilancia y que tipo de consecuencias puedes esperar dentro de lo que el gobierno puede hacer?

En cada cuadra existe un grupo de vigilancia que son los CDR — los Comites en Defensa de la Revolución. Ademas hay lo que se llama las personas de confianza de la seguridad del estado. Que son informantes de la seguridad del estado. Entonces, cualquier movimiento en una cuadra donde se reuna gente que no son de la vecindad, que no son conocidos se reunan en una casa inmediatamente el CDR o la persona de confianza informa que hay un reunion de personas no conocidos. O sea, que excede de un número normal.

BW: ¿Que hacen estos grupos de cinco cada vez que se juntan?

OP: Estos grupos tienen una composición natural. Ya sea vecinos de una misma cuadra, estudiantes de una misma escuela, etc. No despertando ninguna sospecha para los organismos de Seguridad. Se tienen tres areas de trabajo. Una de ellas dedicado a lo que hemos llamado bio-cultura, todo lo que concierne al individuo. Tanto a la salud física, nutrición y equilibrio siquologico.

SENDERISMO

BW: ¿Han ustedes explorado las alternativas de alimentación, como la vegetariana?

OP: *Sendero Verde* es un camino ancho, donde se encuentran diferentes matrices. Cada elemento guarda sus identidades propias dentro del grupo. Pero *Sendero* es un común denominador, un punto de convergencia; por esto es llamado Verde, el color de la naturaleza Cubana. Cuba es muy verde, entodas partes y atravez de todo el año. Pero tambíen tiene un significado simbólico, se asocia el color con la felicidad, la esperanza. Así el camino Verde, es el camino de la esperanza y la felicidad.

Mercedes Paez: Y una parte de esta opción vegeteriana, esta la medicina natural, y tradiciones como el Yoga, el Budismo etc, depende de cada cual.

OP: A esto nosotros le llamamos Senderismo, una doctrina filósofica. Una doctrina ecléctica. Mercedes y yo hemos sido vegeterianos por 6 años. Y hay muchos senderistas que tambíen lo son. Aunque esto rueda al libre albedrío. Hay espacio para los que no lo son. Esto esta vinculado a que en el Senderismo cabe cualquier corriente que enaltezca al hombre.

Mercedes Paez: También admite a los Comunistas, claro que estos no entran porque su ortodoxia les impide participar en el pluralismo. Nosotros no les negamos el derecho a los Comunistas de serlo. Pero tampoco permitimos que ellos nos niegen nuestro derecho ha pensar como pensamos.

BW: ¿En que otro tipo de actividades *Sendero Verde* se desarrolla?

OP: Las otras dos esferas son las de la naturaleza y ecología y la otra es de la sociedad, derechos humanos, derechos legales y econòmicos. En cada una de estas esferas hay grupos que trabajan cuestiones especificas, trabajan en el diseño de una sociedad de futuro, tomando como experiencia la sociedad capitalista y la socialista que hemos vivido. Queremos una sociedad mejor que resuma lo mejor de estos dos sistemas pero que no tenga los errores fundamentales de ambos.

MP: Una sociedad no como lo de Suecia que tiene lo mejor del capitalismo el mejor del socialismo pero tiene un alto incidencia de suicidio:

OP: Queremos una sociedad en la que el hombre tenga la posibilidad de desarollarse plenamente pero que se puede desarollar de manera harmonica no solamente como un derecho ideal o un derecho potencial sí no como un derecho real que pueda ejercer realmente en cada acto de su vida. Pero para esto hay que trabajar duro. Hay que trabajar en la conciencia de la gente. No basta contener poder politico. Hay que educar al hombre para que sea capáz de vivir en una sociedad como esta y crear su propio sociedad porque para poder crear una sociedad como esta hay que crear un hombre integral, harmonico y pacifico pero que esa paz la lleve intimamente.

BW: ¿Que es lo que hacias antes de *Sendero Verde*, y como te iniciaste en esas ideas?

MP: Yo estuve venculada mucho tiempo en el deporte y entonces tuvo la oportunidad de realizar la salud humana. Entonces estuvo venculada en deportes subaquatico. Después estuve vinculada en los artes martiales. Tuvo vinculada en el Equipo Nacional de Karaté de Cuba. Fuí campeona en al año 1979. Pero precisamente con los asuntos del Mariel en 1980 me sancionaron porque no estuvo de acuerdo con los actos de repudio. Eso me sirvio para crecerme espiritualmente y buscar entoncess los corrientes del Buddismo, de

Continúa en la pagina 2

Noticias de Peru

LOS COMPAÑEROS DE LA AGRUpación Libretaria de Peru informan como sigue:

Nos encontramos solidificando nuestra organización interna (asamblea, comisiones, etc) y paralelamente vamos realizando una labor de autoformación ideológica y participación en algunas actividades vinculadas al que hacer sindical y de masas; todo ello dentro de un clima de tensión por las circumstancias, ya conocidas por Uds., como es la militarización creciente, incrementada por este gobierno, para acabar sistemáticamente con el movimiento obrero organizado so protexto de "la estabilidad económica y la lucha anti-subversiva"

Por otro lado nuestros problemas financieros nos han impedido sacar nuestro vocero *Rojo Y Negro*.

Dentro de nuestro trabajo en la lucha cotidiana, hemos trabajado amistad con Victor Taype, secretario general de la Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros y Metalúrgicos del Perú; él al igual que otros compañeros dirigentes sindicales han sufrido persecución y torturas por parte del ejercito, ayudados por la burguesia minera (SNI). Actualmente Victor se encuentra enjuiciado por "apologia del terrorismo" y quisieramos si es posible que que iniciarais una Campaña De Solidaridad, entre los mineros y trabajadores de vuestra zona de influencia; enviar cartas o telegramas de solidaridad con Victor Taype al local de F.N.T.M.M.P. (Plaza Dos de Mayo, 44, Lima) pidiendo su libertad incondicional.

Esta circunstancia (la de estar ayudandolo legalmente) nos ha abierto las puertas del ámbito minero peruano, a pesar de estar dominado por algunos partidos leninistas (con los que Taype discrepa basante) creemos que podriamos realizar un buen trabajo proselitista allí. Si pudierais mandar información sobre la Autogestión sería excelente, además otros compañeros del colectivo han solicitado recibir documentación sobre Consejos Obreros, Comunas y autodefensa popular (estrategia contra la represión) al mismo tiempo que saber cómo van las cosas por otros paises, qué proyectos hay en marcha,etc..

C.A.L.
Julio C. Tello 421
Urbanización San José
CALLAO 2
PERU

... y de Paraguay

EN NUESTRO PAIS, DESDE febrero de 1989, hemos podido tener una parte importante en una serie de cambios en los gremios de sindicales que han conmovido la vieja estructura del movimiento de los trabajadores cultural y formalmente.

Bajo la persecución de la dictadura de Stressner la resistencia se había organizado ya en la Confederación Paraguaya de Trabajadores (CPT) que estaba dirigido por el régimen y monejado por la policía. Esta organización y su fuerza hicieron posible vencer la influencia burocrática en los gremios obreros. Esto aseguró el espíritu indendiente del movimiento de los trabajadores librandolo de la política paternalista.

Las uniones y las federaciones autónomas eventualmente formaron la Coordinadora de Organizaciones Sindicales Independientes que ya incluye 70 gremios. En un futuro intentan llevar a cabo la Conferencia de Trabajadores Nacionales cuyo propósito es el de formar una organización democrática pluralista y de acción revolucionaria.

Aún más importante es la publicación de los principios sindicales en que se basa este proceso. Respécto al criterio ideológical y filosófico, estos principios contienen nuevas ideas para nuestro tiempo y lugar. Ellas simbolizan la restauración de la vieja revolución del anarco-sindicalismo que no ha desaparacido y ahora se adapta logicamente a nuestros tiempos y a las circunstancias en que vivimos.

Coordinadora de Organizaciones
Sindicales Independientes
Brasil y Mcal Estigarribia 1er Piso
Asunción, Paraguay

Conferencia Regional en Texas

SE VA CELEBRAR UNA REUNIÓN regional de anarquistas y anti-autoritarios del sur-oeste de los Estados Unidos los días 4 y 5 de inero en Austin, Texas.

Los temas propuestos incluyen: organizando acción anarquista, el presente y el futuro del movimiento, tácticas, el desarollo de comunidades anarquistas y más.

Rob Los Ricos
504 W.24th #81
Austin, TX 78705

Resumen de los Articulos en Ingles

Portada y página 6 — *"Nazis!!! Esos odiosos tipos!"*

El autor describe la campaña de David Duke para gobernador de Louisiana como la ascención de un movimiento fascista autentico en los Estados Unidos. El artículo alerta a los anarquistas a organizarse en comunidades de la clase obrera blanca para mostrar que el antiracismo y la unidad con trabajadores de todas las razas conllevará un real mejoramiento — mucho más de lo que los fascistas podrian imaginar.

Páginas 2 y 3 — *"Pornografía en Llamas"*

Richard Blake opina que los anarquistas deben oponerse a la industria pornográfica, no buscando la censura de la pornografía, sino desenmascarando la realidad de una industria violenta y forzando los miembros más privilegiados de la sociedad a encararse con la opresión que se oculta detrás de la industria.

Página 3 — *"Un Ataque a la Biotecnología desde los Países Bajos"*

Un reportaje sobre la destrucción de tres terrenos de cosechas manipulados geneticamente en los Países Bajos. Jan Kraker mantiene que la tecnología es racista, imperialista y destructiva ecologicamente. El autor pide que grupos autónomos y ecologistas radicales desarollan una crítica y una oposición a la biotecnología.

Páginas 4 y 5 — *"Una Historia de Resistencia"*

Con su articulo, Gord H. discute la explicación usual del "descubramiento" de las Americas, recordando las culturas y sociedades que los Pueblos Nativos crearon. El autor nos detalla el desarollo de la invasión Europea; el genocidio y esclavización de los aborígenes, junto a un descripción de las luchas de resistencia de los Nativos. Concluye el artículo con la Revolución Americana y continuará en el próximo númer

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Aviso Aburrido

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Verde

Viene de la portada

yoga, de los corrientes orientales, con ellos el vegetarianismo. Y entonces a partir del vegetarianismo y después incluso ya tomando el karaté como modo de defensivo en cada ataque. Como crecemiento humano.

BW: ¿Habian libros de Budismo Zen en Cuba en ese tiempo y de Vegetarianismo?

MP: Bueno algunos entran por la iglesia o por el cuerpo diplomatico, tenemos acceso a eso por los amigos extranjeros que viven en Cuba. Entonces ya la corriente ecologica al partir del el amor asi mismo entonces comienza el amor a la naturalesa. bueno coincidimos los dos porque el también comenzó una linea muy parecida y hasta que, bueno, coincidimos porque el hacia caminatas por la paz. Entonces yo también me sumé a el porque me hablaban del el y a el le hablaban de mi. Nos concimos nos casamos y siguimos con este ideología.

OP: Ambos nos hablablan a uno del otro desde hacia un tiempo. Pero nos conocimos casualmente y a las 6 horas de habernos conocido iniciamos una relación amoroso y a los 14 días nos casamos. Y después no nos separado más solo cuando la seguridad del estado nos detiene.

BW: ¿Eso ha sucedido?

OP: Eso ha pasado en muchas ocasiones. De 1985 que fue la primera "caminata por la paz y la vida" a 1990, la última detención fue el 25 de octubre de '90, en total en ese periodo, han sido 34 veces.

BW: **¿Cuáles fuerón los cargos?**

OP:Pocesión de propoganda "enimiga," a veces de supuesto secuestro o atentado contra autoridades del gobierno, desorden público.

BW: ¿Han ido al juico en estos casos?

OP: En estos casos espicificamentes nos elalborran el experiente pero nunca nos llevan a juiciar. Es sólo para amenazarnos. Nos metan en prisión aislados y a veces nos reprimen fisicamente. Y a veces nos amenaza que nos van a meter 8 o 10 años en el prisión. Y la última fue cuando nos meteron en el hospital siquiatrico. En agosto de 1989. Pero no fue victima del electroshock porque la campaña nivel internacional fue muy fuerte.

BW: ¿Te dieron cualqier tipo de drugas?

No porque yo estaba siendo, hacimos nosotros dos un ayuno de 42 dias.

BW: ¿Cuánto ha sido el tiempo más largo que has estado en Prisión? ¿Porque tus casos nunca han sido llevados a Proceso? ¿Producto de las presiones de la Comunidad extranjera?

OP: Bueno la vez que más tiempo hemos estado en prisión ha sido dos meses, incomunicación. Siempre nos incomunican, nos interrogan sistematicamente, utilizan todo tipo de técnicas siquologicas represivas. Pero yo diria que es casi para experimental a ver si funcionan con nosotros porque hasta ahora nunca han tenido resultado. Ellos nos tiene como un especie de conegios de india. Siempre que prueben una nueva técnica sicologica de represión nos detiene para aplicarla con nosotros.

BW: ¿Que técnicas?

OP: Una es la aislamiento en total. Donde pierdes el sentido del tiempo y del espacio. En nuestro caso, tratan de cambiar nuestra dieta. Ellos nos darán un enorme pedazo de carne, pero ellos saben que para nosotros comerlo sería una tortura...Comida que no es dada usualmente al resto de la población penal se ofrece a nosotros. Así pretenden hacernos creer que no se nos dispone de otro tipo y tratan de llevarnos por encima en lo que respecta a nuestros conceptos de salud. Sí nos negamos ha comerla, nos dicen: "Están exigendo demasiado, están, bajo arresto y no en casa de abuelita."

MP: Tecnicamente la razón porque no hemos llevado estos cargos a proceso es porque no nos concideramos contrarevolucionarios. Y tratamos de actuar en la ley. Esto paralelos les resulta muy díficil al llamarnos terroristas o cotrarevolucionarios. Somos disidentes en muchas formas. Pero los verdaderos contra-revolucionarios son ellos, los que se oponen a las ideas pacíficas, a un medio ambiente saludable, a las políticias ecólogicas. Es el gobierno el contrarevolucionario.

OP: En el gobierno Cubano existen los que estan luchando por mejorar la sociedad cubana pero el mismo sistema imperante es un esfuerzo muy grande. Ellos son las voces anónimas que nos estan tratando de ayudar.

BW: ¿Que planteamientos Uds dirigen en las Marchas por la Paz y Ecología?

OP: En esas marchas, nosotros realizamos mitines en las calles. Lo que es muy poco común en Cuba, damos conferencias públicos atravéz de todo el país. Y hacemos acciones positivas, como fiestas como festivales vegetarianos para educar al pueblo en lo que respecta a la nutrición o para plantar árboles. Claro que en muchas de estas acciones nos han atacado la policía. Cuando lo que estamos haciendo o diciendo se acerca de temas ecólogicos, cosa que esta bien.

Pero cuando mas aún tocamos temas que intervienen al Gobierno, la cosa se pone fea. Ahí los hemos visto pelear cuerpo a cuerpo en condiciones obviamente desporcionadas. Esto ha que no los agredan, vías pacíficas de movilización. Entonces esto les quebra los esquemas. Los incomodamos, les damos la mano en un gesto de amor. Y eso los desarma.

Esta entrevista continuará en el próximo número. ★

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